

SECRET

(accompanying memorandum dated October 31, 1942 from Director of Strategic Services to Joint U. S. Chiefs of Staff. Subject: Proposed new Directives of the Joint U. S. Chiefs of Staff to the Office of Strategic Services)

TAB "A"

ESTIMATE OF THE ORGANIZATION, PRESENT AND REQUIRED,
OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

1. Incentive. The conduct of psychological warfare has been thrown into confusion through a lack of coordination and collaboration among the governmental agencies concerned and which could be remedied through centralization in a single operative unit.

2. Objective. To formulate an efficient and practicable plan for the organization and operation of psychological warfare by the United States.

3. Definition. Psychological warfare is the coordination and use of all means, including moral and physical, by which the end is to be attained -- other than those of recognized military operations, but including the psychological exploitation of the result of those recognized military actions, -- which tend to destroy the will of the enemy to achieve victory and to damage his political or economic capacity to do so; which tend to deprive the enemy of the support, assistance or sympathy of his allies or associates or of neutrals, or to prevent his acquisition of such support, assistance or sympathy; or which tend to create, maintain, or increase the will to victory of our own people and allies and to acquire, maintain, or increase the support, assistance and sympathy of neutrals.

The accomplishment of these ends demands and includes:

(a) general propaganda services, operating primarily against civilian groups and using mainly ideological appeals and news manipulation;

(b) operations -

(1) subversive services engaged in sabotage, rumor-spreading, bribery, etc.

(2) combat psychological warfare services directly attached to the armed forces, which act under the theater commander and are exemplified by the German Propaganda Companies.

(c) intelligence services engaged in accumulating "information by research and espionage on fundamental social, ideological and leadership vulnerabilities of enemy populations and on the current attitudes and morale of civilian and military groups, in addition to the usual military, naval, political, and economic information."

PRESENT SITUATION

4. J.P.W.C. The Joint Chiefs of Staff, awake to the intimate relationship in modern warfare between force as exerted in combat and the pressure exerted by the phases of psychological warfare, established the Joint Psychological Warfare Committee (J.C.S. Directive 68) under the Chairmanship of the Director of Strategic Services with purely military and naval membership.

5. An Advisory Committee provides for liaison with the Department of State, Board of Economic Warfare, Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, and Office of War Information. A Working Committee of J.P.W.C. was established. In practice, the Planning Group of the Office of Strategic Services has become the principal source of psychological warfare estimates, analyses and plans.

6. The J.P.W.C. was later (August 15, 1942) given supervisory jurisdiction over the Office of Strategic Services, but has been encumbered with administrative details of that organization, until both the planning and execution of psychological warfare and the operations of the Office of Strategic Services have been hindered. The Office of Strategic Services has been hampered through the necessity of its papers and proposals being passed upon by two or more committees.

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Office of War Information (Executive Order June 13, 1942) transferred to it "the gathering of public information and its dissemination abroad" which, in effect, means control and operation of shortwave foreign broadcasts and other publicly acknowledged printed matter abroad. (These activities were originally a part of the psychological warfare machinery of the Office of Strategic Services when known as the Coordinator of Information.) Radio and printed matter, which in the last war represented the whole American-planned activity in psychological warfare, remain an important but only fractional part of a complex strategy now deeply involving underground activities, economic measures, the acts, announcements and behavior of our widely dispersed armed forces, and a mass of political maneuver.

8. Board of Economic Warfare. The Board of Economic Warfare (Presidential Executive Order July 30, 1941) formerly known as Economic Defense Board, is to "advise the President as to economic defense measures;" "coordinate the policies and actions of other agencies;" "develop integrated economic defense plans." In practice, it has developed a separate economic intelligence section, manipulates economic pressure, economic favors, and preclusive buying. All these are intrinsic parts of or influences upon psychological warfare.

9. Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. A Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs was appointed by Presidential Order dated July 30, 1941, to coordinate activities affecting the Western Hemisphere, and "to formulate and execute programs in cooperation with the Department of State." In practice, in friendly liaison with the Department of State, it manages the whole of psychological warfare in the Western Hemisphere. From this Hemisphere, Office of War Information, Board of Economic Warfare, Office of Strategic Services and other agencies are excluded entirely, except that the Federal Bureau of Investigation has agents in South America engaged in counter-espionage and G-2 has a recently organized branch of secret intelligence.

10. Department of State. The Department of State is chiefly responsible for the expression abroad of the national policy and its statements form the skeleton of the whole of psychological warfare. It has no direct liaison with the strategical requirements except in the high echelon of the Cabinet and the White House, and through a representative on the Advisory Committee of J.P.W.C.

11. Office of Strategic Services. The Office of Strategic Services, now an organ of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, has a large and skilled information and intelligence service specialized in combat and psychological warfare fields (R&A); has undercover agents (S.I. and S.O.); has contact with foreign origin groups in America (F.N.) and with many underground international groups (S.I.) Its psychological warfare plans and operations, when approved by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, have no formal machinery for coordinating with the Department of State, O.W.I., B.E.W., C.I.A.A. and other agencies except through the liaison of the Advisory Committee of J.P.W.C.

CONCLUSIONS

12. Psychological warfare must assist our cause in a world which our military forces can dominate at best only slowly and partially for a long time to come. Our policies will be complicated by the struggle of the other nations, including Great Britain, to maintain a footing and establish their future interest by means of their psychological warfare activities. Psychological warfare must be recognized, therefore, as of critical importance as an auxiliary of armed combat.

13. It is essential that psychological warfare planning and operations

(a) be conducted under the control of the Joint Chiefs of Staff as an integral part of our war effort.

(b) be conceived in relation to current strategy and executed in coordination with military operations.

(c) be planned and conducted under the supervision of a single agency designated by the Joint Chiefs of Staff and authorized to have the information concerning war strategy, plans and operations in order to provide intelligent guidance for: (1) a psychological warfare planning group; and

(2) a psychological warfare operations group, including propaganda

14. RECOMMENDATIONS: That the Office of Strategic Services be designated as the single agency described above.

operations, etc.